

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1464

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PGOV, CY  
SUBJECT: A PLAN FOR MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARDS A  
CYPRUS SOLUTION

REF: STATE 141210

1. WE BELIEVE PROPOSAL FOR EARLY RETURN OF REFUGEES TO VAROSHA  
PARA 19 REFTTEL COULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR GOC TO CONTINUE  
OPPOSING THE RECONVENING OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. WE RECOGNIZE  
THAT POSSIBLE LOCAL REACTION IS NOT PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO THE  
EFFORTS BEING MADE IN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK TO FLOAT THE PROPOSAL  
BUT WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON ITS LIKELY IMPACT HERE.

2. GOC WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PREVENT PROPOSAL FROM BEING MADE  
PUBLIC BEFORE FINAL CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF EASTERN MEDIT-  
ERRANEAN SECURITY ASSISTANCE PACKAGE. THIS EFFORT PROBABLY WILL  
FAIL; MEDIA BASED ON REPORTS FROM NEW YORK, LOCAL MEDIA IS  
ALREADY SPECULATING THAT THERE MAY BE NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON VAROSHA.  
IF THE PROPOSAL DOES BECOME PUBLIC AND FORMAL, GOC WILL DELAY AND  
OPPOSE, USING WE GUESS, THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENTS:  
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--BECAUSE FUTURE STATUS OF ADMINISTRATION OF VAROSHA IS LEFT  
OPEN, RETURNING REFUGEES WOULD BE IN AN UNTENABLE SITUATION.  
THEY WOULD BE HOSTAGES TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT AND RUN THE RISK OF  
BEING MOVED AGAIN IF A SATISFACTORY CYPRUS SOLUTION IS NOT FOUND.  
--THE PROPOSAL APPEARS TO DEAL ONLY WITH PORTION OF VAROSHA  
DELINEATED IN SUBMISSION TO WALDHEIM, WHICH WOULD BECOME A UN-  
ADMINISTERED ENCLAVE SURROUNDED BY TFSC ON ALL THREE SIDES; AREA

BETWEEN VAROSHA AND DHERINIA IS ONE OF THE SIX AREAS MENTIONED AS "NEGOTIABLE."

--PROPOSAL IS A THINLY-DISGUISED EFFORT TO SPLIT REFUGEE SOLIDARITY AGAINST RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS OF "UNACCEPTABLE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS." (ACTING GOC PRESIDENT MICHAELIDES USED THIS LINE ON JUNE 6 IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ON VAROSHA FROM THE PAN-CYPRIAN REFUGEE COMMITTEE.)

3. TO COMBAT LIKELY GOC ARGUMENTS SET OUT ABOVE THERE SHOULD BE SOME CLARIFICATION OF POSSIBLE DURATION OF UN ADMINISTRATION AND HOW GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL HAVE ACCESS TO VAROSHA. THE MOST POSITIVE WAY TO HANDLE FIRST POINT WOULD BE TO ASSURE GOC THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS BREAK DOWN, VAROSHA WILL REMAIN UNDER UN ADMINISTRATION PENDING FINAL SETTLEMENT. SUPPORTERS OF PROPOSAL SHOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO SPECIFY THAT AREA INVOLVED INCLUDES NOT ONLY VAROSHA BUT ALSO AREA FROM VAROSHA SOUTH TO GOC-CONTROLLED AREA NEAR DHERINIA. (WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH SOLDIERS FROM AREA IN EFFECT WOULD RESULT IN ENLARGEMENT OF AREA BETWEEN THE LINES (ABL). IN ORDER FOR THIS PROPOSAL TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE BY TURKS AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS, WE BELIEVE PROVISION MUST BE MADE FOR SPECIAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS OF FAMAGUSTA AND ITS PORT, SUCH AS JOINT UN-TURKISH CYPRIOT CHECKPOINTS, PATROLS OR FIXED OBSERVATION POSTS.) A LESS-DESIREABLE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE UN CONTROL AND FREE ACCESS BY GREEK CYPRIOTS TO THE ROAD FROM DHERINIA TO VAROSHA.

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4. THE PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE A STRONG APPEAL FOR THE FORMER RESIDENTS OF VAROSHA ALTHOUGH THIS WOULD BE ATTENUATED IF THE AREA INVOLVED IS AS DESCRIBED IN THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS. CUTTING VAROSHA AT DHIMOKRATIA AVENUE WOULD LEAVE MOST OF THE MAIN BUSINESS DISTRICT OUTSIDE UN-ADMINISTERED AREA WITH THE RESULT THAT MANY OF THE COMMUNITY LEADERS WOULD BE AMONG THE HAVE-NOTS. WHILE THE PROPOSAL AS DRAFTED WOULD CAUSE SOME TENSION AMONG REFUGEE COMMUNITY, PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN SUFFICIENT POPULAR SUPPORT TO UPHOLD A REJECTIN.

5. ALTHOUGH UNRELATED TO PRESENT PROPOSAL, IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE GOC DOES HAVE CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR REOPENING VAROSHA. ACCORDING TO FAMAGUSTA DISTRICT OFFICER (DO), SOME 150-200 ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS, PUBLIC WORKS AND MUNICIPALITY WORKERS ARE NOW AVAILABLE AND COULD RETURN TO VAROSHA AT SHORT NOTICE TO REESTABLISH BASIC SERVICES. AN ESTIMATED 30-60 DAYS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO RESTORE SERVICES BEFORE INDIVIDUALS COULD BEGIN MOVING BACK. WATER AND ELECTRICITY ARE ALREADY SUPPLIED TO FAMAGUSTA AND VAROSHA FROM GREEK SIDE SO THEY WOULD PRESENT NO MAJOR PROBLEMS. EVEN TELEPHONE SERVICE COULD BE RESTORED IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS IF TECHNICIANS HAD ACCESS TO MAIN

FAMAGUSTA EXCHANGE.

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